608 "If you refuse to give me lodging or food, may the gihango kill you."

The two blood brothers then lie down on the mat side by side for a few moments to indicate that they will be indissolubly united in good as in bad days.

Then the one who is the visitor takes a handful of herbs and throws it on the hearth, saying: "If you come to my house and [18] I am away you may drink my beer and warm yourself with my wood, and may the gihango do you no harm, for you will not have wanted either to steal my beer or to burn my hut. But if my wife refuses to give you the beer and the wood, it is no concern of mine, for my wife is not bound as we are by the blood pact."

The abanywanyi then offer gifts to the witnesses such as hoes, necklaces, etc., and give each other presents of hoes, goats, and cows, according to their means, in order "to free themselves from the mat on which the blood pact has taken place," (kwichara ku kirago).

CHAPTER II. MARRIAGE

1. Kinds of Unions

● 583 The word ugushaka (to have a wife) designates marriage in general.

The typical marriage with payment of a dowry (inkwano) to the girl's father is called kurongora.

A umugeni w'ubuntu (lit., betrothed given as a present) may [572] be given as testimony of affection to a friend. Later the man can give a dowry, but he is not obliged to do so. If the friends quarrel, [562] the dowry may then be reclaimed. A powerful chief can also give his mututsi client a young girl as a gift (umugeni w'ingororano).

587 To marry a divorced woman or a widow is called gutshyura umusumbakazi (lit., to bring home a woman who has already been married). These unions are frequent, especially among the Bahutu. When they start keeping house, the husband only gives the bride's paterfamilias a jug of pombe, but if the couple have children he must give a dowry. [19]

583 A young man may carry off a young girl (kwiba umugeni) in order to force the consent of her parents. But the young man's father subsequently gives a dowry.

588 There are ibyomanzi (vagrant women) who stay with a man for indefinite period of time according to the circumstances of their wandering lives (kubuyera or kohoha). The fate of these unions is obviously precarious. If, against all probability, their common life lasts for several years, the woman may introduce her concubinary to relatives [or parents]. If children are born, the man may be obliged to give a dowry. The marriage is then regularized.

583 It may also happen that two men, each with a sister whose dowry they may claim, will exchange wives: abageni b'ubuntu bunyuranye (lit., the betrothed as gifts).

In all these marriages the fate of the wife and children is the same as in the typical marriage. If the husband does not pay any dowry, the wife's father may take the children away and keep them as hostages until their father has fulfilled his obligations.

567 583 Formerly, children who were prisoners of war (abanyagano) married later, usually amongst themselves. The master could also give a captive girl in marriage to one of his clients. He collected the dowry but on the other hand, he had to pay a dowry for one of his slaves who wanted to marry a woman of the same region.

The slave, his wife, and their children continued to be part of the master's household. If one of these children wished to get married in his turn, his father would pay the dowry for his son or collect it for his daughter, and by that very act, his son or daughter was freed and became munyarwanda.

567 If the master married a slave woman, the children of this union would be of the same status as their [20] father, even if he already had other children with a munyarwanda woman.

2. Types of Marriage

595 Polyandry does not exist in Ruanda.

Polygamy (polygyny) is universal, except among the Christian natives, and particularly among the Bahutu, who have an average of two or three wives and sometimes even four or five.

The Batutsi most often have two wives. The great chiefs have, in addition to their wives, a certain number of insholeke (concubines).

584 for his sisters. The girl and the young man must obey the will of the paterfamilias. Even if their feelings are not in agreement, they cannot refuse to marry. This is particularly true when the fathers are friends and wish to avoid quarreling. Obviously, marriages entered into under these conditions are unstable and nearly always last only a short time.

This rule is not sanctioned with any penalty, but anyone who did not comply with it would expose himself to public contempt. Nowadays, more and more frequently, the young man makes the choice himself and asks his father to take the necessary steps with the family of the girl he has chosen. [23]

4. The Dowry

● 583 The purpose of the dowry (inkwano) is to buy back the children that will be born of the marriage. In fact if it is not paid to whom it is due (the wife's father or brother), he will take the children as hostages.

Also the dowry contributes to the stability of the marriage. The relatives, who have to refund the dowry if the marriage is broken, are certain to encourage the husband and wife to become reconciled.

Among the Batutsi the dowry consists of cows. Formerly, well-to-do people gave eight cows, hence the word umunani (lit., eight, implying, heads of cattle). Today, these cows, of which there are only two but which have kept the name of umunani, are brought to the girl's father during the engagement and kept by him in trust. One of them is for the gukwa (1), the other for the gutebutsa (2). On the

1. Literally, "to take the necessary steps to conclude the engagement."

2. Literally, "to hasten" (implying, the marriage).

day of the wedding, the girl's father keeps for himself the cow that has given him the most calves, or the finest heifer, and returns the other to the young man's father.

589 In Buganza, Buliza, Nduga, and Bugessera, where cattle is plentiful, the Bahutu also give a cow as dowry. Elsewhere it consists of hoes, usually four, and about thirty jugs of beer. It may also happen that an imbata (3) or an ingabane (4) is claimed in addition

3. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 40.

4. Cf. idem, p. 42.

by the Muhutu father-in-law.

Among the Bakiga (region of Rukiga) the dowry is paid in goats (ibuguma) or in sheep (iliza). One of the wife's relatives with large hands seizes a leg of each animal, holds them together and tries to [24] assemble as many as possible. He repeats this operation twice and thus manages to collect about 20 animals. In Rukiga the dowry also sometimes consists of indundu and ingwate cows (1).

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 49.

The Batwa give only one hoe and a pot of beer on the day of the engagement and four hoes as dowry.

The custom of re-using the dowry — that is, the father of a son and a daughter does not pay the dowry for the marriage of his son until after having received the dowry for his daughter — does not exist in Ruanda.

The Batutsi do not give any present to the mother-in-law. Among the Bahutu, on the day of the wedding, before the girl leaves her father's house, the young man sends his betrothed's mother a jug of beer called irizeneko (lit., quartering) to recall the suffering she endured in giving birth to her daughter.

If the dowry has been paid in cows, the father-in-law on the day of the wedding gives his son-in-law an indongoranyo cow (2).

2. Cf. idem, p. 44.

If it consists of hoes, the husband also receives a hoe as indongoranyo.

Contracts, p.63.

231 and if after a few years by selling the young bulls, the skins, the
422 horns, the milk, and the butter, he has made enough money to
427 buy a head of cattle, the latter is not an imbata, but an impahano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 43.

422 If a Muhutu, the umugaragu of a Mututsi, marries his
583 daughter and receives a milch cow as dowry, the latter is not an
192 imbata, but an inkwano, and the shebuja of the son-in-law can take
231 it back. In effect, it is the social position of the Muhutu which entitled him to collect a dowry in cattle. If he had not been a client of a Mututsi, he would have received as dowry only hoes or goats. [49]

231 INTUNDANO. (1) Cow bought in the market with the salary
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1. From kutunda, "to do business."

earned at the mines in exchange for goats or baskets of beans. It is an imbata.

INDUNDU. Cow acquired in immediate full ownership without the condition that the buyer should later make an additional payment. Indundu is opposed to ingwate (2).

2. See further on, p. 46.

[431] INKAZIBITI. Cows given without fee by the patron to a client who has paid homage (guhakwa). To take possession of cows promised by the shebuja is called kujya ku ilembo (lit., to cross the threshold of the rugo). The first cow received under these conditions is called inka y'igiti (3); the second, impetano; the others

3. Literally, "cow of the treetrunk."

do not have a special name. A father can also give some inkazibiti to his wives and sons.

425 INYARULEMBO. Cows which continue to belong to a
231 Mututsi shepherd, but which may be at the home of one of his wives
192 or of an umugaragu. They remain near the master's dwelling, for they are to provide the milk needed for him and his family. Indemano given by a [52] cattle owner are called inyarulembo. Cows bought by a Mututsi umugaragu (intundano) are also called inyarulembo. On the other hand, those acquired by a Mututsi who has entered into a clientele contract become ingabane.

583 INKWANO. Milch cow given or received as dowry for the
231 marriage of a daughter or sister. It becomes imbata.
192

INDONGORANYO (1). Head of cattle given to the young couple by the wife's parents, and sometimes by the husband's parents. Among the chiefs, the indongoranyo is given immediately after the marriage as a sign of friendship. Among the other Batutsi, the indongoranyo is given to the young woman by her father when she visits her parents after the birth of her first child.

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431
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1. From kurongoranya, "to help set up housekeeping."

IY'URUGORI (2). Milch cow or heifer which a young mother receives from her father or her father-in-law, unless she has already had an indongoranyo bestowed on her. If the marriage is broken, the urugori is not claimed from the wife's family.

[301]

2. From the name of the sorghum-straw band worn by Banyarwanda mothers on their heads.

[606] IY'ICHYARI. The daughter-in-law is not allowed to see her father-in-law during the first days of marriage. When he lifts the interdiction, the father-in-law can give an ichyari to the young couple. Among the Bahutu, a sheep or a goat is given instead of a cow.

431 IY'IGISAGE. Cow given by a father to his son when the
192 latter reaches the age of six or seven years old. At that moment,
231 the hairdress he has worn until then (igisage) is changed to one called
302 amasunzu (3). The Muhutu child receives at the same age two or three banana trees.

3. Hair dressed in the shape of a coxcomb or a crescent.

642 614 628 182 may not be satisfied by equal retribution but avenge the loss of one of their members by killing two or more members of the opposite clan. In former times this created a permanent state of war within the nation, no large-scale political community could develop, and the resistance of the Barundi against external aggression was extremely weakened. The same was true of Ruanda (No. 48, p. 238). It was only the strong monarchy of the Batussi which, in its own interest, put an end to this permanent civil guerrilla warfare. However, now the clans use the vendetta for the protection of their members under the cover of secrecy. The former open guerrilla warfare has turned into insidious murder against which even the most powerful Batussi mutwale is not secure if he is guilty of bloody acts of violence against some clan. The effect of this avenging popular justice and the manner in which it is regarded by the people are reminiscent of our Vehmgericht of medieval times, although they are both quite different in other respects.

[106] Chapter 8

Marriage, Birth, Death

1. Contracting Marriage, Wife, Children

582 [589] 583 685 595 In most cases the Barundi are married (kurongora) at quite an early age: the men as soon as they can pay the bride price; the girls often at the age of twelve or even younger if they are nubile. It is very rare that a man voluntarily remains a bachelor. If someone marries late, the only reason is that he is unable to raise the bride price, i.e., the purchase price of a wife. Marriages are exogamous; there are no cases of marriage within the same clan (see p. 100). Bride stealing is unknown as a marriage custom. If, under exceptional circumstances, it does occur it is treated as a case of common theft (No. 19, p. 358). Concubinage is practiced particularly in the case when the son of a mutwale or a chief has to wait for a girl of equal rank to

595 reach a marriageable age, and the girl has been chosen as his marriage partner by his parents; he will then take a concubine from a lower class for the waiting period. However, in most cases, the parents give their sons free choice.

584 When a young man takes a liking to a girl, he first proposes marriage to her without asking anyone else. If she accepts, the young man asks his parents to pay the "bride price." When the parents have given their consent, the suitor sends a matchmaker to the parents of the girl or, if her parents have died, to her closest relatives. If the father or, if he is dead, the mother refuses or explains that the girl has already been promised to someone else, the matter is considered closed, and the two lovers have to give each other up. If, contrary to 896 the orders of the parents, they engage in extramarital intercourse, the girl will, in most cases, receive corporal punishment. If she should become pregnant, she is placed completely outside the social pale, for by her behavior she has cheated her parents of the purchase price, and she has also deprived other girls of the opportunity of being asked for in marriage in her place.

583 However, when a girl's father or mother, as the case may be, accepts the suitor's proposal, the matchmaker has to negotiate the purchase price (inkwano) for the bride. This fluctuates depending on the individual, the position of and the property owned by the bridegroom and the bride. Among the large class of the unpropertied, a few strings of small pearls and a few pots of pombe beer are considered sufficient. Among more prosperous groups the bride costs, besides beer and pearls, one or more goats and sometimes even one or two head of cattle (No. 4, p. 221). Among the families of the rich and powerful, that is, the Baganwa, a bride may seldom be had for [107] less than 10 to 15 head of cattle. A bride can also be purchased by paying a part of the agreed price. In this case the young husband becomes security for the rest of the money but does not need to pay it if the marriage is annulled.

585 The objects constituting the agreed purchase price are sent to the bride's parents by the bridegroom through the matchmaker.

595 afford it lives in polygamy in order to have workers to manage his property and to maintain his social position, in order to be able to associate with one wife when the other one is unapproachable during confinement, and for other reasons which are mainly of a practical and economic [109] nature rather than erotic. Thus, many Batussi have two wives, the bigger chiefs three or more, and the king has an entire harem. The Batwa, however, are almost all monogamous because of their poverty (No. 19, p. 447).

There is a widespread custom among the Bahima of Ankole and Kisiba whereby several brothers who are too poor to afford a wife individually pool their resources and buy one wife between them; the children belong to the oldest brother (No. 27, p. 105). This custom of polyandry is apparently very rare in Urundi.
[837] However, brothers of a family are often excessively intimate with their brothers' wives.

In Urundi each wife has her hut and her household in a separate kraal. Among prosperous Batussi two wives seldom live within the confines of one enclosure. Usually their houses are a long way from each other, whenever possible on different mountains. The husband is alternately the guest of one or the other. In polygamous families the wife by the first marriage is
[428] the head wife, and in matters of inheritance her children take precedence over other wives' children. In addition to regular marriages, concubinage with women of a lower social class exists.
[429] The concubine (umukeba, umugensi), although recognized
[563] socially, may be dismissed at any time and she and her children have no right of inheritance. Since Bahima wives are not very
[842] fecund, many Batussi men take Bahutu women, who are much more fecund, as concubines in order to increase the number of children in the household. This often happens in other Bahima states, and the consequence is that many Bantu in this area have a strong admixture of Bahima blood (No. 17, p. 631). Marriage
[583] on a temporary or trial basis is unknown among the Barundi;
548 marriages are, after all, contracted and dissolved so easily that such provisional unions are unnecessary.

192 of a cow whereby he gives him the animal under condition that the
233 first female calf born of this cow will be handed to him. He may
[420] even take the cow and keep it until the first calf is weaned, so long as he shares the milk with the owner of the animal over that period of time.

The term umukangara serves to designate the first heifer born under this agreement.

Inka y' inkungurano (kugurana, "to exchange"), a purchased cow. The exchange is effected against a sterile cow or two young bulls, some 20 goats or about 30 basketfuls of beans.

Inka y' inkwano (gukwa, "to buy a wife"), cow given as a bride price to acquire a wife.

Inka y' indongoranyo (kulongoranya, "to help establish a house-
[583] hold"). This term serves to designate the animal that well-to-do
[585] parents present to their daughter on her wedding day. They also supply her with her trousseau at that time: a tanned and buttered cow-hide enclosed in a basket, along with some rings of vegetable fiber, two mats for the bed, a supply of butter, etc., to provide for the early needs of the young couple.

Inka y' ichari (umwari, "young wife"). This expression /507/
192 designates the cow offered by the parents-in-law upon the birth of
233 their first grandson. The son-in-law must present a few jugs of beer
431 to his wife's parents along with his son. He is given a cow or heifer
844 in return.

The father-in-law usually takes into account what he received at the time of his daughter's marriage. If his means are moderate, as are those of most Bahutu, he merely gives a young bull or a few hoes (1).

1. In such cases the young bull is designated by the name of igishito or uluhanderw' inka, "the side (that is, half) of a cow."

The gift offered in these circumstances rightfully devolves

581 great importance because it unites two families and is a step in the direction of social integration. In Nduga where farmers have no political importance, marriages also have no significance.

[583] This probably also explains the difference in the purchase prices of brides. In the north these prices are very high; in Nduga they are very low. Hence, marriages in the north are much more stable.

583 562 The price paid for the bride, which must be returned in case of a separation, is the economic guarantee of the permanence of a union. In the words of the natives, a marriage in Mulera is an act of exchange between two clans. One clan furnishes the horned cow, ntuku, which is the bride price, the other clan provides the unhorned cown, nkunge, that is, the bride. The woman, like the cow, is family property. After the death of her husband she is inherited, so her purchase price and her progeny do not have to be returned. This inheritance is called kutshura.

584 In Kissaka a bride is wooed when she is still a small child. The suitor sends banana beer to the parents of the bride. If the parents approve, they accept the gift. Then, when there is an opportunity, the bride price is agreed upon. The presents of beer are repeated from time to time until the girl comes of age. These presents are supposed to call attention to the suitor and further the marriage settlement. As many as 20 to 50 jugs of beer

585 are sent. When the girl is mature, that is, when she is about 15 years old and her breasts are the size of a fist, she is brought to the house of her husband on the appointed day by the sister of her father, her brothers, and her attendants (bagaragu). They stay the whole evening, drink banana beer, and converse. While the bride sits with her aunt in the inner part of the house, the rest of the party is in the section facing the door (muliango). After the entire supply of beer has been drunk, they all return to their houses, and the newly married couple is left alone.

It often happens that the bride runs home to her parents and does not wish to return to her husband. In this case the husband must send more presents of beer to the parents-in-law. If he happens to be out of beer, he must send a man, who promises to send more beer, to fetch his wife.

583 [220] The sum paid by the bridegroom for his wife is pri-
556 marily an indication of his wealth and not the purchase price of the woman. That is why the rich pay proportionately much more than the poor. Thus, a great chief in Kissaka pays two cows and their calves for a wife; a lesser chief pays one cow and a calf; an ordinary Mututsi, only one cow. The bridegroom's payment is called inkwano. On the other hand, the woman gets a dowry, known as indongovanyo (wedding present). The woman's dowry is given by her father and his sister. Each of them gives one calf, and, in very rare cases, a cow.

[643] If the king wishes to marry, he sends forth one of his men with a forked wooden stick called isando. The king pays for a wife with many cows, but he does not accept a dowry because everything, of course, belongs to him anyway.

583 The payments and gifts among the Bahutu of Kissaka are not so large. The bridegroom, for example, pays six to eight hoes for his bride or very often a doti (four yards) of material and a sheep. The bride's father gives a dowry consisting of one hoe, and the father's sister gives a sheep. However, considerable quantities of beer are consumed on these occasions.

In Bugoye where a cow is often exchanged for a girl, the bride can also be paid for in services. The girls can thank this market value in terms of a cow for the compliments of the elegant cavaliers who compare them with cows. In Mulera where the Bahutu are wealthier and pay more for their wives, they cannot get a wife without a cow.

589 A young unmarried girl is called inkumi. It is said of old maids that they fell into the hearth, baguye kuziko, or akapfa nimulindo, "she died in virginity."

836 Marriages with girls who have had sexual intercourse occur, but a bad reputation, at least in Mulera, is said to complicate the otherwise simple procedure of finding a husband.

[581] If a Mulera wishes his son to marry, he looks around for a
584 girl who might guarantee him important allies among her relatives. When he has made his choice and the oracle has pronounced favorably on the choice, he sends a present of beer to the girl's parents. The present is accepted if they wish to express their satisfaction with the courtship. The father of the girl must accept

584 In certain circumstances a woman is at the disposal of the Chief or his headmen and not her relatives. Thus, in one case the Chief had brought a girl up and successfully sued her father for giving her in marriage: there is no record of why the girl was in the Chief's hands. In another, it is specifically stated that a man having died with only female issue, the daughters were taken over by the village headman: in a suit brought by her relatives, claiming the right to give her in marriage, they were successful, though it is stated in the record that this was contrary to ancient tribal custom.

583 686 Bride-wealth is normally handed over before marriage, but not necessarily. Instances of exceptions are:

> A man is sued for payment of bride-wealth by his wife's brother, who has seen that his sister is being ill-treated. The man cannot pay, so the Court dissolves the marriage and returns the woman to her brother.
>
> A woman's relatives are sued for return of bride-wealth, she having run away: and it is found in evidence that, in fact, it has never been paid.

If it has not been paid, there are limits to the right of the woman's relatives to sue for it.

> A man has married a woman and had two male children by her and then sent her home. Her relatives claim that he had no justification for sending her away and ask that he be made to take her back and to pay bride-wealth, which he had not previously done. The Court finds that the suit should have been brought at least ten years before, and the relatives lose.

It is not held exclusively by the senior member of the woman's family. Thus, in a case where two sisters were married, their elder brother (their father being dead) retained both payments, but the Court ordered that he should hold only one and his younger brother the other. There is nothing to show whether in general the bride-wealth is held by an individual or shared out among several members of a family.

581 583 There are indications that marriage is regarded by a woman's relatives as a commercial transaction to some extent.

> *Instances*: A woman's brother successfully asserts his right to sell a cow received as bride-wealth, stating, as his justification, that exchange of

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the woman for the cow completed the transaction between him and the husband.

A man promises his daughter to another man in marriage in consideration of the annulment of a debt of 10*s*. and 6 hoes.

And, in two cases, suits arise because a woman, having returned to her parents ill, has been sent to a doctor for treatment: payment has not been forthcoming, and the woman has been handed over to the doctor. (In one case he has married her himself, in the other he has given her in marriage and kept the resulting bride-wealth in lieu of his fee.)

But this is not necessarily the view of the woman herself. In one of several cases where a woman has returned to her relatives, consequent on the removal of the bride-wealth by her husband, she states that she went away on account of the slight put upon her.

In a considerable proportion of the marital causes brought before the Court, the record mentions the amount of bride-wealth involved, and these display a remarkable range of variation, both in the nature of the property handed over and in the value. The categories comprise cattle, goats, cash, hoes, beer, cloth, and copper bracelets: and the value ranges from 9 cows to 1 hoe. Tabulating these in rough order of value, according to equivalents disclosed by the records themselves (1 cow is worth 2 bulls and is worth more than a calf: a bull worth 10*s*. or 11*s*. and also equalling 2 goats and 2*s*.: a goat worth 4*s*. or 5*s*.: a hoe equalling a pot of beer and also 1*s*.), the result is:

9 cows.
3 cows (twice).
2 cows, 3 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
2 cows (three times).
9 hoes, 46 pots of beer.
1 cow, 23 pots of beer, 4*s*.
1 cow, 1 calf, 3 hoes.
1 cow, 3 hoes, 18 pots of beer.
1 cow, 15 hoes.
20*s*., 20 pots of beer.
8 goats, 1 copper bracelet.
1 cow, 7 hoes, 7 pots of beer.
1 cow, 11 hoes, 1 pot of beer.
1 cow, 5 hoes, 5 pots of beer.
1 cow, 1 bull.
1 cow, 2 hoes, 6 pots of beer.
26 hoes (claimed, though only 8 admitted).
7 hoes, 17 pots of beer.
11*s*., 14 pots of beer.
1 bull, 3*s*., 2 pots of beer.
10*s*., 6 pots of beer.
1 goat, 6 hoes, 2*s*.
13 hoes.
8 hoes, 5 pots of beer.
12 hoes.
8*s*., cloth value 3*s*.
10*s*.
10 hoes.
9 hoes.
4 hoes, 5 pots of beer.
1 goat, 2 hoes, 1 pot of beer.

583 1 cow, 7 hoes (twice).
435 1 cow, 6 hoes, 1 pot of beer.
1 cow, 4 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
1 cow, 6 hoes (twice).
1 cow, 5 hoes (four times).
1 cow, 5 pots of beer.
1 cow (thirteen times).
7 hoes.
4 hoes, 3 pots of beer.
1 hoe, 5 pots of beer.
2 hoes, 3/50 worth of cloth.
5 hoes (twice).
4 hoes (twice).
1 hoe.

The analysis of this list reveals 42 cases where bride-wealth is paid in cattle, alone or accompanied by hoes, beer, cash, or a combination of these latter. Thence, with a few exceptions, there is an abrupt drop to a standard where hoes alone or with beer are paid in bride-wealth, three of the exceptions being where cash is paid with beer: there are 27 cases in this second main class. The quantitative relation of the number of bride-wealths in media other than cattle to those where cattle are a constituent is unlikely to be of importance. There is a [694] standard fee of 2s. in marital causes in the Native Court, and a man who can only command sufficient property to pay a bride-wealth of a few hoes is not to be expected readily to raise a court fee.

583 A summary of the analysis shows:

20 cases of payment in cattle alone.
10 „ „ of cattle with hoes.
1 „ „ „ „ beer.
8 „ „ „ „ hoes and beer.
2 „ „ „ „ beer and cash.

11 cases of payment in hoes alone.
6 „ „ of hoes with beer.
3 „ „ of cash with beer.
1 „ „ of cash with cloth.
1 „ „ of cash alone.
1 „ „ of hoes and cloth.
5 „ „ of goats, once with a bracelet, once with hoes and beer, and once with hoes and cash.

There are evident norms of payment in cattle alone and of payment in hoes alone, but further investigation is needed to discover how far these correspond with the symbiotic social system of pastoral Tusi and agricultural Hutu. A wide field of suggestion is opened up. For instance, are there any cases of wealthy Hutu paying bride-wealth in

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cattle alone? and if so, are they marrying into Tusi families, bridging the social gulf? or are they only marrying into other rich Hutu families, adopting the Tusi standard of wealth? And what is the meaning of the mixed payments in cattle and hoes? Are Tusi marrying into Hutu families, and being expected to utilize the Hutu standard as well as their own? or are wealthy Hutu, again, adopting Tusi standards? It would seem to be almost certain that change of some form or another is going on. The records are not helpful, save for one case where payments of the unusual number of three cows are mentioned as being as in respect of members of the Chief's clan: and another, where a woman's father, suing for payment of bride-wealth of a cow, finds that no cow is available and accepts, *faute de mieux*, 11 hoes—this must surely be a Hutu.

There are seven instances where payment in cash is a constituent of the bride-wealth and one where cash alone is involved. This cash element only appears in the years 1928–30, the last of the series, and is exactly paralleled in the suits for recovery of debts, where hoes are the normal subject-matter in the years 1924–6, are being replaced by cash in 1927, and virtually disappear in the later years. In five of the seven cases it is the hoe which has been replaced by cash in the bride-wealth payment, and that this change may be making marriage more of a commercial transaction, even if it was not before, is instanced by the case already cited, where a father was ready to part with his daughter in return for the extinguishment of a debt of 10*s*. and 6 pots of beer. And one would like to know whether the cattle standard has also been attacked in the case where the large amount of 20*s*. appears.

The function of the perishable article, beer, as an element in bride-wealth, does not appear from the records. There is nothing to show whether its appearance in only one-third of the cases reviewed means that it has not been a constituent on other occasions, and if so, why it is in issue sometimes and not at other times.

Bride-wealth in the possession of a woman's family need not necessarily be maintained intact.

Instances: Where a woman's brother has lost a cow paid in bride-wealth and is brought to Court by her husband, the Court makes no order: it finds that the woman is still with her husband, that no grounds for

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divorce have arisen between the married pair, and that there is therefore no cause of action.

And, a case already cited, a man hears that his wife's brother has sold the cow paid in bride-wealth, and thereupon drives away his wife and sues for his bride-wealth. The sale is admitted, but the plaintiff fails in his suit, as no grounds for divorce have arisen between his wife and himself: he is therefore to take his wife back.

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On the termination of a marriage, bride-wealth, with rare exceptions, is returnable in full: and where cattle are involved, the increase is also to be returned (three cases in the records): but a man who sued for three bulls, the progeny of a cow paid in bride-wealth, was unsuccessful when it was established that the bulls were dead.

Circumstances under which the bride-wealth is not returnable in full are:

(*a*) when the wife has borne children or is pregnant at the time of the dissolution of marriage.

Instances: A claim is made for the repayment of bride-wealth of 4 hoes. Three only are awarded by the Court, as a child has been born of the marriage.

In a claim for repayment of bride-wealth of a cow, 7 hoes, 7 pots of beer and some fat, the Court only awards the cow and the hoes, as the woman was pregnant at the time of divorce.

(*b*) when the wife dies in pregnancy.

In such a case, a woman's father was sued for the return of bride-wealth, but pleaded, to the satisfaction of the Court, that her death in pregnancy amounted to her having been killed by her husband. No bride-wealth was to be repaid.

(*c*) when the wife dies after an illness, unless she has come to her husband ill or otherwise unsound at the time of marriage, or has returned home without cause given by him, and there fallen ill and died.

Instances: A widower sues for the return of his bride-wealth on the ground that the woman was unsound when he married her. Her father shows to the satisfaction of the Court that the husband did not disclose the defect at the time of marriage, and that the woman died at her husband's home: and the widower loses and is further ordered to return the clothes and ornaments of his dead wife to her father.

A man marries but does not build a home and remains at his brother-in-law's. Later, he quarrels with the brother-in-law and removes, with his wife. She falls ill and goes home to her brother, and there dies. The Court decides that her husband has no justification for reclaiming

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Role	Term of address	Term of reference
VIII. The generation of Ego's great grandchildren		
SoSoSo	Mwana	Muzukuruza
SoSoDa	Mwana	Muzukuruza
IX. The other generations under		
Descendant		Ubuvivi[11]

Let us now turn to the description of the most important of these roles.

During all his father's lifetime, Ego remained subject to his authority, though before puberty the young son was allowed to show some familiarity in his relations with his father. Even at that early age, however, the interests and comfort of his father predominated, and it seems that the weakness of a child was not considered a reason for giving him relatively more food and other comforts than his father. When he reached puberty and was initiated into the Ryangombe sect, he was treated more severely and had to behave as an obedient servant of his father. He could not go to sleep before his father, or get up after him in the morning, without permission. He had to stay near the gate of the fence, to close it at night and open it in the morning, instead of sitting near the fire. This was especially true among the Hutu who did not have servants. There the son had to tend the cattle (goats, sheep, and eventually cows) with the help of his sisters. His training in different men's activities was given to him by his father. Among the Tutsi, where such training included dancing, composition of poetry, and the use of weapons, different specialists were required. The training was given at the court of a chief or of the king. But even when separated from his father for a long time, the young Tutsi was expected to manifest the same attitude of obedience.

When his son was getting married, the father, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had to help him to pay the bride-wealth. Marriage did not change the son's attitude towards his father, who still had the right to inflict severe punishments if disobeyed. He could curse him, which amounted to complete ostracism and being obliged to flee to a region where he was not known and consequently where it was extremely difficult for him to make a living. The father could carry out less severe but more humiliating punishments, such as beating his son with a stick or preventing him from sleeping with his wife for some time by monopolizing her; (it should be noted that

[11] Compare with Vanhove, 1941, pp. 11-16.

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the absence of a taboo on sex-relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law may have induced some severe fathers to punish their sons in this way). As long as their fathers lived, sons were never emancipated.[12]

The father had a slightly different attitude towards his daughter, though she certainly had to obey and respect him. Like the boys the girls went to sleep later than their parents and got up earlier. They participated in a large measure in the domestic chores, among the Hutu. They were more closely associated with their mother, the father did not have the task of punishing them, and they were never beaten by him after puberty. They were said usually to have great influence on their father and could get what they wanted from him. When they married the father received the bride-wealth, but he had to supply some of the counter-gifts. Marriage did not cut the links between the girl and her inzu which remained her inzu. But her close connexion with her husband's inzu sometimes divided her loyalties, though I was told that this was rare and anyway not a part of her expected behaviour. *Amahitamo yaje, umwana ni uwa se* (when a choice has to be made, one is the child of one's father).

Ego regarded his paternal uncle very much as another father. He referred to him as 'our father'. Like the father, the father's brother had the right to punish. This is why a man who had committed some offence did not dare to take refuge with his paternal uncle. Their relations were, however, more cordial and less tense: the paternal uncle was the usual intermediary between Ego and Fa when the former wanted to obtain something from the latter. Ego, for instance, told his FaBr first when he wished to marry. There was no significant difference of behaviour towards the father's brothers, unless the relative ages of Ego and his FaBr were exceptional. If the nephew and his uncle were about the same age, there was a more familiar relationship between them. If FaBr was about as old as Fa, the attitude was more polite and respectful.

The paternal aunt (FaSi) had perhaps a still more prominent position. As she had received no part of her father's heritage, she felt free to ask from her father or from her brothers whatever she wanted for her nephews (Ego's children). Moreover, as her nephews could marry her daughers without any very urgent

[12] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 106-14.

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inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and
564 Tutsi. Hutu informants say it happened frequently, Tutsi in-
582 formants claim that such marriages were very rare, but that Tutsi often had Hutu concubines. This discrepancy shows clearly that
[558] for a Tutsi to take a Hutu as wife in a primary marriage entailed a loss of prestige. It was resorted to mainly because of poverty.
[583] Bride-wealth was lower in these inter-caste unions (not in the sense that the standard bride-wealth among Hutu was much lower than among Tutsi) and a Hutu girl worked harder than a Tutsi. It does not seem on the other hand that the Hutu girl was particularly proud of having a Tutsi husband. But it is not easy to
[560] assess the feelings of a girl in that respect, as no informant seems to have cared very much about them. A prosperous Hutu could
[583] marry a Tutsi girl, but then the bride-wealth was often greater than for a Tutsi (three cows instead of one). It happened also that a Tutsi cattle-lord (*shebuja*) would grant a daughter to one of his Hutu clients. Here again the feeling of the girl was unknown to informants. Such a match could be eagerly sought by a Hutu
[557] social climber, but in general Hutu opinion did not look upon it with favour. In a caste society only a few atypical persons are anxious to get as near as they can to the higher stratum. Hutu and Tutsi informants considered any question suggesting intermarriage with Twa as very insulting.

582 It was possible to marry a foreign woman, often a war captive
567 who had become a sort of domestic slave. The bride-wealth then had to be paid to her master. Sometimes Ruanda living near the
582 borders married a girl of the neighbouring people (such as Nkole,
643 Rundi) when peaceful relations with that particular people had lasted for some time. There was much reluctance to let a Ruanda girl marry an alien.

581 Within the borders of Ruanda, local proximity was an important positive factor for Hutu in the choice of a mate. They did not travel very much and as a marriage was primarily a patrilineage affair, they had to know the inzu of the prospective bride or groom and they only knew the groups residing nearby. Tutsi, and particularly those of importance, were less localized than Hutu. They had to go often to the court; they were appointed to administrative charges in one part of the country, then in another one. Consequently inter-regional marriage was favoured as it usefully extended kinship connexions.

What were the qualifications socially considered as the most

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girl's father, allowing a sufficient time for the latter to consult his patrilineage. If the answer was favourable, the meeting took place. Accompanied by a kinsman or a client, the boy's father came to visit the girl's father and offered him a jug of beer. After some preliminary talk, he came to the point and asked for the girl.

These preliminary steps were taken very skilfully. Nobody should ever be directly refused. If the girl's kinsfolk did not want the match, the visit of the boy's father was indefinitely delayed under several pretexts. Nobody should be put in such a position as to lose face. The boy and the girl were never officially consulted during these preparatory stages. If, however, one of them categorically refused the choice made, he was not obliged to marry. But it happened very rarely and the opposition of the individual concerned had to be extremely persistent if it was to succeed.

To marry a certain girl against the consent of one's own and her parents was impossible. But the following procedure could be attempted. The boy hid himself in a place to which he knew the girl would go. When she was coming he spat in her face a certain herb which had been chewed and mixed with milk (*imbazi*). They were then considered married as this was the central rite of any wedding. Often the ordinary wedding ceremonies followed. If, however, the girl's inzu were still opposed to that match, they obliged the girl to whistle and milk a cow. As both these actions were tabooed for a married woman, it was clearly meant that the girl was not married. The boy's father had then to pay a fine to the girl's people as a reparation for the wrong done to the girl's family.[5]

In secondary marriages (any marriage subsequent to the first one) there were not many more cultural criteria determining the choice of the spouse. Sororal polygyny was permitted but rare. In order to obtain new connexions the husband preferred to choose subsequent wives from an inzu other than that of his first wife Another reason given is that to have two or three sisters as wives brought more domestic troubles than wives who were not consanguineal relatives. If, however, his first wife was sterile, the husband was likely to ask for one of her sisters or parallel cousins as a second wife, without paying bride-wealth. But this was not a sororate, for the first wife's sister was not said to give birth to children for her sister: she was regarded as bearing them for herself.

[5] See description of other forms of this type of marriage in Pauwels, 1951, pp. 126-9.

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herself. A widow became the wife of one of her late husband's siblings or agnates designated by the inzu head. Usually an older brother of the husband was chosen. Among the Tutsi this resulted in a levirate: the first husband was still the pater of the children whose genitor was the second husband. Among the Hutu, in similar cases, the genitor was pater. A widower often married a younger sister of his late wife if he was on good terms with his parents-in-law, and if they did not require bride-wealth for the deceased wife's younger sister. This marriage was favoured because it was thought that it was appropriate that the children of the first wife should be brought up by her sister.

(*b*) *The bride-wealth*

Bride-wealth had to be paid before the wedding ritual, but payment could sometimes be delayed. In that case more jugs of beer had to be given.

There were some regional variations in the amount of the bride-wealth, but within one region it did not vary very much within each caste. Among Tutsi it was usually one cow plus some jugs of beverage, and one hoe. The bride-wealth proper was the cow, as the beverages were rather contributions to the different celebrations taking place at the wedding. Among Hutu it was one heifer or cow (which could be replaced by about one dozen goats) and a number of jugs of banana-beer. The following table indicates the average bride-wealth paid by Tutsi and Hutu in the central region of Ruanda. Among Twa bride-wealth was composed of a certain number of pots of beverages.

TABLE OF THE STANDARD MARRIAGE GIFTS AND COUNTER-GIFTS IN CENTRAL RUANDA

A. HUTU

Groom's inzu		*Bride's inzu*
1.	one hoe, one jug of beer after agreement	
Father	——→	Father
2.	one heifer or twelve to fourteen goats (bride-wealth) from one to three weeks after 1. (*gutenbutsa*)	
Father	——→	Father
3.	household equipment on wedding day (*ibirongoranywa*)	
Groom	←——	Father
4.	one hoe or one sheep or one goat + jugs of beer at the end of seclusion period	
Groom	←——	Father

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TABLE OF THE STANDARD MARRIAGE GIFTS AND COUNTER-GIFTS IN CENTRAL RUANDA—*cont.*

A. HUTU

Groom's inzu		*Bride's inzu*
5.	one hoe or one sheep or one goat (even one heifer) a week after each birth	
Groom	←	Kinsfolk
6.	counter-bride-wealth (stock increase of the bride-wealth) two or three years after marriage	
Father	←	Father

B. TUTSI

1.	one jug of hydromel, one hoe, one *isando* (forked branch of ficus tree)	
Father	→	Father
2.	one cow (bride-wealth) (*inkwano*) a few days later	
Father	→	Father
3.	one cow (counter-bride-wealth) when the bride leaves her father's homestead	
Father	←	Father
4.	household equipment on wedding day (*indogoranyo*)	
Groom	←	Father
5.	one heifer (*izimano*) on the day following wedding	
Father	→	Male abashyitsi
6.	one steer (*izimano*) on the day following wedding	
Father	→	Female abashyitsi
7.	jugs of beer, pots of milk, sorghum flour (*imitwa*) at the end of seclusion period	
Groom	←	Father
8.	one cow, jugs of beer, pots of milk at each birth (*ibihembo*)	
Groom	←	Kinsfolk

583 All our informants agree that bride-wealth was not considered very expensive. Moreover, counter-gifts were about as high. The girl's father had to provide the young couple with household equipment and to give the husband's father a counter-bride-wealth approximately equivalent to the bride-wealth itself. Among Tutsi it was proper to give the counter-gift before the wedding. Hutu gave back another heifer not later than after the third calving of the bride-wealth cow. In addition valuable gifts were given by the wife's kinsfolk after each birth.

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Bride-wealth was definitely not a compensation for the economic loss entailed by the girl's departure from her patrilineage. Her departure was not an impoverishment of her group because it provided it with a new alliance with another descent group; all informants agree on that. Bride-wealth was the socially recognized symbol of the legitimate transfer of fertility from one descent group to another. As long as bride-wealth had not been given, children borne by the woman were considered as belonging to her inzu (they are called *nkuli*). The husband was only their genitor, not their pater.

Bride-wealth received by the girl's father was not to be used only to provide the bride's brother with a wife. There was no direct relation between a man's possibility of getting a wife and his sister's marriage.

(c) *The wedding ceremonies*

Wedding ceremonies (*ubukwe*) taking place at the groom's father's were very long and complicated. The central rite constituting the wedding was the spitting on the bride's head of chewed herbs mixed with milk, and the placing on her head of a garland made of the leaves of a certain plant (*umuwishywa*). Other rites symbolized the dominance of the patrilineages' interests in the marriage. Both inzu were represented by two groups, the *abashyitsi*, the agnatic relatives of the bride, and *abasangwa*, agnatic relatives of the groom. When the rite was accomplished, *abashyitsi* had to express sorrow by their laments and *abasangwa* to rejoice loudly. Another rite stressed the concern of the kin-groups in the intimate relations between the spouses. A younger brother or paternal parallel cousin of the bride had to lie between the new spouses during some part of their first night together (*gucahagati*). The groom had to beg him to leave. I was told that this signified that it was the bride's patrilineage which had to give permission for the first intercourse. Moreover, after the central rite and before the first intercourse, the father and mother of the groom and the father and mother of the bride had to have sexual relations. If the girl's parents (who did not attend the wedding party) were living far away, the young couple sometimes had to wait for a couple of days before having intercourse.[6]

The high value of virginity was also symbolically stressed.

[6] On wedding celebration, see Kagame, 1954, pp. 143-72.

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564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

564 It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to
613 differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither
● [583] good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the
[554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of
643] one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her
564 life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In
644 general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
582 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
613 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
643 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence
[766] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a
562 very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
582 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
613 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambiguous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply

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wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases).

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child.

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives.

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the

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593 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked
776 by *Imana*.

564 The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi
583 expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight
[556] hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay
[178] the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman,
[554] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have
[556] more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise
585 above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough
[538] to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise-
[533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated
[152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 Every married woman of every class and caste works for her
[593] husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

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581 Rundi. Peace is always desirable but rarely achieved. The frequent
593 absence of the husband does not seem to diminish the tensions and problems of domestic life. There is a host of reasons to quarrel, to fight, to separate for several days or forever.

593 A man will be angry with his wife if she has drunk up all his beer, if she has not prepared dinner for him, if she has left the house without his permission, if she has invited company without permission, if she has not done the work he has told her to do, if he comes back home to find her in bed with another man. One quarrel need not destroy a marriage. However, a man is considered perfectly within his rights to send away a woman who is consistently disobedient and lazy, who insults her husband and parents-in-law, who does not offer food and drink to her husband's visitors while he is away from home. A woman suspected of witchcraft will be packed off at the first possible moment. A sterile woman will be retained only in the exceptional case: a man gives the bride-price to have children. Among the Tutsi, a woman who takes the milk to drink for herself instead of churning it into butter for her husband will be humiliated and sent away. Her father-in-law will invite her father to drink beer. Then, he asks the offending woman "to show the butter to the bull", who has been led into the yard for this little "ceremony". She has no butter to show. Her father, furious and humiliated, will take her back home and will punish her. Finally, a talkative woman who discusses her husband's business with strangers will certainly be sent back home. Towards a woman who speaks against her husband, who is engaged in intrigue against him, a husband will have no pity. She will be beaten within an inch of her life and sent back to her father—unless she has been clever enough to succeed in a plot that ruins her husband utterly, while she has arranged to be married afterward by his richer and more powerful enemy.

[895] 586 593 [754] [842 583]

On her side, a woman does not have to put up with a husband who eats so much of what she has cooked that nothing is left for her, nor with a husband who does not eat what she cooks. Does he think, she wants to know, that she is going to poison him, or is it that he prefers the cooking of his mother or sister-in-law? A man who praises other women need not imagine that his wife will stay with him for long, particularly if she is a Tutsikazi. If he has money and does not give his wife clothes, she will surely become angry. If all her children die, the woman will fear her mother-in-law's sorcery and will leave. If the husband consistently overworks her, if he beats her too much and without legitimate reason, she will go back home. Sometimes the marriage does not last the four days of

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the honeymoon. The morning after the wedding, it can happen that the young bride will go out into the yard and announce in a loud, clear voice: "I did not come here to go to bed with another girl". She goes home. The boy's father knows that his son is impotent. It is the mother's fault. She must have allowed the dried umbilical cord to fall on the male organ of her newborn son. The cure also is up to her. The parents give their son a great deal of beer so that he will become drunk. The father then leaves the house, and the mother then has intercourse with the son in order to remove the impotence which her neglect caused. If the cure has not failed—and there is great confidence in the probable success of this remedy—the young couple will be reunited and remain together to face the other risks of married life.

When spouses fight, the neighbour-women give advice to the wife and the men to the husband. Both are encouraged to reform. If the wife has become seriously angry, she will leave and stay at her father's for a while. She tells her mother her reasons for having left. If she is wrong, if she has deserved the beating, or if she has refused to do work which a woman is obliged to do, her mother must correct her. Sometimes after two or three days, she returns voluntarily to her husband. However, she much prefers to wait for her husband to come after her and to have to explain his behaviour to her father. If it is the husband who is in the wrong, his mistake will probably cost him a handsome new length of cloth, some money, or some jewellery before his wife will consent to go back to him.

Sometimes the advice of the neighbours and the parents lead at last to marital adjustment. If not, there is a divorce. However, the Rundi say that divorce is no longer reasonable after a man and woman have had two or three children together. Their blood has been mixed. Furthermore, they have had time enough to get to know each other's defects. In addition, to divorce the mother of several children is expensive. The husband takes back the brideprice, but he must pay to have his children. A Tutsi has to give a heifer for each daughter and a bull-calf for each son. The Hutu do not always buy back their children, or else they must wait a long time before they have sufficient hoes or money to redeem them. Occasionally, a man prefers simply to abandon a woman. She and her children remain on the property that the husband has given her, and she must send her sons to stay with their father as soon as they are old enough to work for him. Because he does not take back the brideprice, she cannot remarry. A father may not accept more than one dowry for each daughter. If she wants to remarry,